

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-30

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1696

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 PEKING 0687

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2 DATE IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE

TAGS: PFOR CH

SUBJECT: CROSSING THE PLATEAU --DC JENKINS THOUGHTS ON
PRC-US RELATIONS

1. FROM PEKING IT APPEARS THAT WE ARE WELL INTO A COOLER STAGE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. UP TO A POINT THIS IS NORMAL, BEING IN THE CHINESE PATTERN OF RELATIONS WITH MOST NEW-COMERS AFTER AN INITIAL HONEYMOON PERIOD. IT IS ALSO PARTLY EXPLAINED BY THE EVER-PRESENT MIDDLE KINGDOM SYNDROME AT WORK: THROUGH MANY SMALL ANNOYANCES ATTEMPTING TO MANEUVER THE FOREIGNER INTO FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY AND DEPENDENCE, AND IF POSSIBLE INTO THE ROLE OF SUPPLICANT.

2. THE PHENOMENON MANIFESTS ITSELF BEYOND THE NORM, HOWEVER, WHEN IT COINCIDES, AS IN OUR CASE, WITH ONE OF THE CHAIRMAN'S RECURRING CAMPAIGNS TO REVITALIZE THE REVOLUTION. IN ADDITION, A CONTROLLED LEVEL OF CHILL IN OUR DIRECTION IS CONSONANT WITH THE CURRENT CHINESE EFFORT TO DEPICT, FOR SECOND AND THIRD WORLD CONSUMPTION, BOTH SUPERPOWERS AS GRASPING AND SELFISH, WITH HEGEMONIC AMBITIONS. IN OUR CASE THE TEMPERATURE IS PERHAPS FURTHER LOWERED BY CHINESE DISSATISFACTION WITH OUR CAMBODIA POLICY AND WITH CERTAIN ASPECTS OF OUR TAIWAN POLICY. FINALLY, THE CHINESE MAY FEEL THAT THE U.S. DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION MAKES FURTHER PROGRESS IN OUR

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RELATIONS UNLIKELY AT THIS TIME.

3. IN THIS PERIOD WE MAY BE OFFENDED, FOR DEMONSTRATIONS OF AMITY WILL OFTEN GO UNREQUITED; BUT WE PROBABLY NEED NOT BE ALARMED. THE BASIC, MUTUALLY AGREED STRATEGY FOR ULTIMATE NORMALIZATION IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS NOT NOW SERIOUSLY AT ISSUE AND IS UNLIKELY TO BECOME SO, UNLESS THE CURRENT STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION TAKES AN UNEXPECTED TURN. SHORT OF THAT, OUR PROBLEM DURING THIS STAGE IS TO COUNTER AS BEST WE CAN CHINESE TACTICS DELETERIOUS TO OUR INTERESTS WHILE ADOPTING TACTICS OF OUR OWN DESIGNED TO MAKE THE PERIOD MORE OF A PLATEAU THAN A VALLEY OR -- LESS LIKELY, BUT CONCEIVABLE IN THE EVENT OF POLITICAL UPSET OR THE DEATH OF CHOU AND/OR MAO-- A PRECIPICE.

4. AS ALWAYS, IN TIMES NOT CHARACTERIZED BY IMMINENT OR ACTUAL EXTERNAL ATTACK, DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS IN PONDEROUS CHINA ARE PARAMOUNT. CHINA'S PROBLEMS ARE ENORMOUS, AND THERE IS NEITHER SUFFICIENT POLICY CONSENSUS NOR SUFFICIENT STABILITY IN THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT TO GIVE PROMISE OF OPTIMUM ATTACK ON MANY OF THEM. WHILE SOME ACHIEVEMENTS ARE IMPRESSIVE, PROGRESS TOWARD MODERNIZATION IN GENERAL IS NOT SATISFACTORY. THE NEW "DYNASTY" STILL FACES ITS MOST PERSISTENT DILEMMA: HOW TO ACCELERATE MODERNIZATION WITHOUT COURTING IDEOLOGICAL COLLAPSE THROUGH THE CONTAMINATION OF FOREIGN IDEAS AND METHODS. STATED IN SIMPLISTIC TERMS, THE DECISION IS WHETHER TO EMPHASIZE SELF-RELIANCE AND BE CONTENT WITH MODERNIZATION IN SOMETHING LIKE VERY MODEST ARITHMETIC RATION, OR WHETHER, AS CAUTIOUSLY AS MAY BE CONTRIVED, TO GEAR INTO THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD ENOUGH TO ATTEMPT GROWTH IN EXPONENTIAL RATION. IN THE FORMER CASE THE SECULAR STATE RELIGION OF MAOISM, WITH ITS ECONOMIC AS WELL AS SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL CATECHISMS, HAS A FIGHTING CHANCE FOR LONGEVITY. IN THE LATTER, THAT CHANCE BECOMES MUCH MORE PROBLEMATIC-- AN HORRENDOUS PROSPECT FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP.

5. THE REGIME HAS TASED THE DANGERS OF CONTAMINATION. IT IS DISTURBING ENOUGH TO HAVE IN THE CAPITAL A DIPLOMATIC COLONY OF SOME 3,000 PERSONS WITH AN EYE-POPPING STANDARD

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OF LIVING, FASHIONABLE HABITS OF DRESS, AND WITHIN THEIR TWO GHETTOS A PREFERENCE FOR FORMS OF CULTURE AND AMUSEMENT SHAMELESSLY DEVOID OF POLITICAL CONTENT (HIGHLY REPREHENSIBLE IN CHINA.) IN ADDITION, LAST YEAR THERE CAME INTO THE LOCAL CULTURAL DESERT IN RAPID SUCCESSION THE LONDON, VIENNA AND PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRAS, WHOSE SIN WAS TOO-HEARTILY-ACCLAIMED EXCELLENCE. AS PUNISHMENT FOR THIS SIN, THEIR ILK MAY

BE BANNED FROM THE REALM FOR SOME TIME. SPORTS EVENTS, IN WHICH THE CHINESE CAN OFTEN EXCEL, ARE DEEMED SAFER, AND CERTAIN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGES ARE TO BE TOLERATED BECAUSE THEY ARE SORELY NEEDED. TO INSTALL RECENTLY PURCHASED WHOLE PLANTS, WESTERN TECHNICIANS WILL BE COMING IN BY THE HUNDREDS, AND THEIR POTENTIAL INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIETY SCARING CADRES BY THE MILLIONS. THE CHINESE ANSWER FOR NOW SEEMS TO BE, WHILE FEVERISHLY BURNISHING CHINA'S IDEOLOGICAL CARAPACE WITH THE ANTI-S CAMPAIGN, VOCIFEROUSLY TO BLAME THE FOREIGNER FOR PAST AND PRESENT CRIMES, YET USE HIM FOR URGENT NEEDS. THAT COMPROMISE IS STILL RISKY, HENCE THE ENDLESS, EARNEST POLICY WRANGLING OVER SELF-SUFFICIENCY VERSUS FOREIGN CREDITS AND TECHNOLOGY. THE RECENT OPENING TO THE WEST, AND SPECIFICALLY TO THE U.S., BEDEVILS THE CURRENT DOMESTIC POSTURING, POLICY CONFLICTS AND PERSONAL JOCKEYING FOR POST-SUCCESSION POSITION.

6. MAO RETAINS FAITH IN ZIGGING AND ZAGGING "STRUGGLES", AND THE PRESENT FOREIGN AFFAIRS ZAG FITS WELL WITH THE DOMESTIC ZAG OF THE ANTI-LIN, ANTI-CONFUCIUS, ANTI-CHAIGN KAI-SHEK AND ANTI-SUPERPOWER CAMPAIGN. (THE LATTER ZAG IS ON TIME: "EVERY SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS".)
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7. THE EARLIER GENERALIZED THEME OF "GREAT DISORDER IN THE WORLD" HAS NOW BEEN EXTENDED TO SPECIFIC ATTACKS ON THE U.S., SECOND ONLY THO THOSE ON THE SOVIET UNION. ALLEGED U.S. CRIMES OF THE PAST ARE DREDGED UP AND

WIDELY PUBLICIZED, AND OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE DEPICTED AS INEXORABLY FAILING--A PROCESS NOW, IN CHINESE HOPES, TO BE ACCELERATED BY THIRD WORLD AWAKENING AND ANTI-SUPERPOWER COHESION.

8. THESE ATTACKS PROBABLY WILL BE KEPT WITHIN LIMITS, BUT THE LEEWAY IS ALREADY GENEROUS. ONE WONDERS WHETHER PRESENT TRENDS COULD YET GO FAR ENOUGH IN A DIRECTION WHICH WOULD MAKE US APPEAR SOMEWHAT NAIVE FOR HAVING MADE A "LONG MARCH" TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE GLOBE FOR A VISIT CHARACTERIZED AS "THE WEEK THAT CHANGED THE WORLD." THAT CHARACTERIZATION HAD, AND HAS, VALIDITY; BUT THE CHINESE NOW GIVE EVIDENCE OF BELIEVING THAT THE WORLD WILL CHANGE IN A DIRECTION UNFORESEEN AT THE TIME OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. THEY APPEAR TO VIEW THE OIL CRISIS AS HAVING TOUCHED OFF THE POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT OF RAW MATERIALS MANAGEMENT BY THE THIRD WORLD, OF EXCITING POTENTIAL FOR ULTIMATELY CUTTING THE SUPERPOWERS DOWN MORE TO SIZE, RESULTING IN A BONANZA FOR CHINA.

9. IF MAO-CHOU (AND/OR TENG?) AND ASSOCIATES BELIEVE THEY HAVE US SUFFICIENTLY LOCKED IN TO THEIR BASIC PURPOSE (COUNTER-SOVIET) SO THAT THEY CAN AFFORD WITH IMPUNITY TO USE AND ABUSE US FOR A WHILE IN THE SERVICE
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OF OTHER PURPOSES, DOMESTIC AND THIRD-WORLD, I BELIEVE THEY WILL NOT HESITATE TO DO SO--EVEN IF WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO WOO. MAKING THE FOREIGNER LOOK FOOLISH IS, AFTER ALL, A TIME-HONORED CHINESE GAME, WITH EXQUISITELY INTENSE PSYCHIC REWARDS IN THIS PERIOD FOLLOWING THE HUNDRED YEARS OF IGNOMINY, WHEN FORMER WESTERN-INFLECTED PAINS STILL SMART TO THE POINT OF STIMULATING IRRATIONAL CONDUCT.

10. ONE WONDERS, HOWEVER, ABOUT CHINESE AWARENESS OF THE DANGERS INHERENT IN PLAYING THIS GAME WITH THE AMERICANS. WE ARE A PEOPLE WHO NOT INFREQUENTLY HAVE MADE PENDULUM SWINGS IN OUR "AFFECTIONS". WE HAVE LATELY ENGAGED IN, IF NOT QUITE A LOVE AFFAIR WITH CHINA, THEN AT LEAST A LIAISON HEIGHTENED IN EXCITEMENT BY ITS BEING RISQUE (COURTING COMMUNISTS). IF OUR COURTSHIP SHOULD APPEAR TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO BE SPURNED, WHO KNOWS WHAT THE COMBINATION OF UNSUBSTANTIATED INVECTIVE, CUMULATIVE SLIGHTS AND WHEAT SMUT NIGGLING MAY PRODUCE IN THE AMERICAN BREAST?

11. EVEN IF THE CHINESE DOMESTIC CAMPAIGN AND THE RECENTLY ENHANCED PROMISE SEEN IN EXHORTING THIRD WORLD UNITY AGAINST THE SUPERPOWERS HAD NOT CALLED FOR A COOLER STAGE IN OUR RELATIONS, THE CHINESE STILL COULD NOT AFFORD

OPENLY TO BE TENDER TO US FOLLOWING THE APPOINTMENT OF A PROMINENT NEW AMBASSADOR TO TAIWAN, RECENT PUBLIC REAFFIRMATIONS OF SUPPORT OF THE ROC, AND THE APPROVAL OF THE FIFTEENTH ROC CONSULATE ON AMERICAN SOIL. ACCEPTING OUR COMMITMENTS TO THEM, PRC LEADERS MAY PROCLAIM THE STURDINESS OF OUR RELATIONS IN AFFABLE PRIVACY ALL THEY WISH, BUT IN PUBLIC THE QUESTION OF SEEMING COUNTER-INDICATORS TO THOSE COMMITMENTS HAS TO BE ANSWERED. THE PRC IS APPARENTLY STEPPING UP ITS ACTIVITIES TO UNDERMINE TAIWAN IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WITH RESPECT TO ITS REMAINING ALLIES.

12. WE DO NOT HAVE A SATISFACTORY MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING RE CAMBODIA. THE CHINESE VISION PROFESSES TO REGISTER A SUPERPOWER PLAYING AROUND HEGEMONICALLY (DESPITE THE SHANGHAI RENUNCIATION) CLOSE TO CHINA'S BACKYARD, AND

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FAR FROM ITS OWN. IN PRIVATE, CHINESE SPOKESMEN CLAIM TO BE PUZZLED AS TO WHY WE PUT SUCH GENEROUS SWEETENING INTO "SMALL" STAKES AT THE EXPENSE OF WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE INCOMPARABLY LARGER STAKES. (OF COURSE THE GAME IS NOT AT ALL THAT SIMPLE, AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT CHINESE SENSITIVITY DERIVES IN PART FROM ITS OWN HEGEMONIC ASPIRATIONS. CERTAINLY TENSIONS HAVE NOT CONTINUED TO DECREASE IN THE AREA.) WE MAY BE ABLE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT CAMBODIA BEFORE WE CAN--OR WISH TO--ABOUT TAIWAN, BUT THE SOLUTION IS NOT APPARENT.

13. BY NOW THERE IS LITTLE MILEAGE LEFT IN THE ORIGINAL SIZEABLE ENERGY CHARGE OF THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN "THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION AND WORLD'S MOST POPULOUS NATION" (A FORMULATION OF WHICH THE CHINESE ARE NOT GREATLY FOND.) UNTIL WE ARE READY TO RE-CHARGE THROUGH SUBSTANTIAL ACTS, WE MAY WITNESS LITTLE IF ANY ADVANCE. THE CHINESE, CONSUMMATE PRAGMATISTS, PROBABLY BELIEVE THAT THE CARROT WOULD NOT PRODUCE RESULTS ANYWAY FOR A TIME, AND ATTRACTIVE OPPORTUNITIES IN FIELDS OPPOSITE TO U.S. INTERESTS MAY TEMPT THEM TO CONCLUDE THAT THIS IS NOT CARROT-TIME FOR US IN ANY EVENT. THEY SEEK TO GAIN GROUND IN AREAS WHERE GROND WAS UNDENIABLY LOST WHILE FASHIONING THEIR LIAISON OF CONVENIENCE WITH THE IMPERIALISTS. "WHAT IS THERE TO LOSE, IF THE IMPERIALISTS ARE NOT READY FOR NEXT STEPS, AND ESPECIALLY IF THEY CONTINUE TO COURT US ASSIDUOUSLY AND AT TIMES, IT WOULD SEEM, WITH ANXIETY?"

14. WHAT, INDEED* FOR MUCH OF WHAT THE CHINESE GAINED

THROUGH DETENTE WITH US IS EITHER IRREVERISBLE BY ITS
NATURE OR DISADVANTAGEOUS TO US IF REVERSED: 1) THE
AVALANCHE OF DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITIONS FOLLOWING OUR OWN
EMBRACE; 2) ENTRY INTO THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS
SECURITY COUNCIL; 3) THE AVIDITY OF AMERICAN TRADE
INTEREST, THE EROSION OF COCOM, AND ATTENDANT GOODS
AND TECHNOLOGICAL OFFERINGS; 4) SOME LEVERAGE OVER US
BECAUSE OF THE HIGH VALUE OF DETENTE TO THE ADMINISTRATION;
5) VALUABLE BALANCE VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS;
6) IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TAIWAN PROBLEM; AND
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7) VIRTUAL END TO "ENCIRCLEMENT". THE CHINESE MAY
NOW FEEL THAT THEY CAN VE CAVALIER TOWARD US FOR A TIME.

15. OUR LEVERAGE TO INFLUENCE CHINA APPEARS TO BE SCANT,
JUST NOW. IN THEORY WE COULD MAKE A SHOW OF FAR MORE
COZYING UP TO THE SOVIETS; BUT THAT WOULD BE FATUOUS,
FOR EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD MAKE THE CHINESE ANXIOUS ABOUT
US FOR A CHANGE, WE COULD NOT MEAN IT, AND IT WOULD
GIVE INSUPPORTABLE SIGNALS FAR BEYOND CHINA.
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EXDIS

16. WE COULD SUCCUMB TO AN URGE INGRAINED IN THE AMERICAN
CHARACTER AND ATTEMPT A HEART-TO-HEART TALK ABOUT

GRIEVANCES. THAT, I BELIEVE, WOULD BE A MISTAKE, PARTLY BECAUSE UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES (DOMESTIC ALONE, OF NOT OTHER) THE CHINESE ARE UNLIKELY TO SATISFY MANY OF OUR COMPLAINTS, AND PARTLY BECAUSE OUR GRIEVANCES ARE NOT AS A WHOLE OF THE KIND WHICH CAN BE HANDLED WITH THE CHINESE IN THAT MANNER. WITH THE LIKES OF PREMIER CHOU, BASIC DIFFERENCES OF REAL IMPORT CAN BE EFFECTIVELY ADDRESSED WITH A COMBINATION OF STRENGTH, WIT AND UTTER CANDOR. THIS HAS ALREADY BEEN EXCEEDINGLY WELL DONE. BUT WE ARE NOT NOW TALKING ABOUT THE ESSENTIAL BASICS OF STRATEGY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT SUCH THINGS AS ABUSIVE PROPAGANDA, DENIAL OF ENTRY FOR TDY AND HONG KONG PERSONNEL, DENIAL OF USLO TRAVEL, AND AN ALMOST LUDICROUS YET GALLING ACCUMULATION OF ONE-UPMANSHIP PERFORMANCES IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS. THE FIRST OF THESE IS THE MOST SERIOUS, SINCE IT COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS IN PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING. BUT NONE OF THESE ARE IN THE REALM OF STRATEGY. THEY ARE IN THE MORE ELUSIVE REALM OF DIFFERENCES IN TACTICS, STYLE AND TIMING. THESE SUBTLETIES RELATE TO NATIONAL CHARACTER, AND SOMETHING OF A DANCE IS CALLED FOR. A VERY FEW "MODERN" CHINESE IN THE LEADERSHIP CAN TALK STRAIGHTFORWARDLY IN BASICS, BUT NOT IN TACTICS AND STYLE. THAT AREA REQUIRES INDIRECT "TELEGRAPHING" OF INTENT AND MEANING, AND/OR THIRD PARTY CUT-OUT. IT ALSO CALLS FOR FIRMNESS ON OUR PART AND OCCASIONAL DEFT RETRIBUTION, BUT NOT FOR THE TIT-FOR-TAT CRASSNESS IN WHICH THE SOVIETS INEVITABLY ENGAGE AND IN WHICH THEY USUALLY GET BESTED BY THESE SHREWDLY

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DISCERNING PEOPLE. THE CHINESE ARE IN ESSENCE COLDLY REALISTIC, IF AT TIMES WARM AND DISARMING PLAYERS. AN OCCASIONAL GROWL WORKS BETTER THAN AD HOC WHIMPERS. HOWEVER, IF THE HIGH CARDS AREN'T THERE, THE GROWL IS AS UNAVILING AS PIQUE, BLANDISHMENT, CAJOLERY, GRATUITOUS COURTESY OR YESTERDAY'S SMILE.

17. NOW IS THE TIME IT SEEMS TO ME TO BE AS PASSIVE IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AS THE CHINESE WILL PERMIT. WE SHOULD TRY TO CROSS THE PLATEAU WITH LOFTY CALM, ESCHEWING BOTH INSOUCIANCE AND ANXIETY. THE FORMER WOULD BE FALSE, AND THE LATTER WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS WEAKNESS AND WOULD PLAY INTO THE MOST CYNICAL OF THE FORMIDABLE CHINESE TALENTS AT MANIPULATION. WE CANNOT MAKE AN ASCENT OUT OF A CIRCUMSTANCE-ORDAINED PLATEAU, AND WE WOULD STUMBLE IF WE TRIED. FURTHERMORE, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT TRY TO ADVERTISE A PLATEAU AS BEING AN ASCENT. THAT WOULD BE TRANSPARENT TO ALL. THE CHINESE WOULD LAUGH, AND NOT ENTIRELY IN SECRET. THE TERRAIN WILL PRESUMABLY RISE AGAIN. AT PRESENT, MUCH ZEAL AND ENTHUSIASM WOULD BE UNSEEMLY-- UNLESS WE OURSELVES WERE READY TO FURTHER THE RELATIONSHIP WITH MOVES OF MORE SUBSTANCE THAN SYMBOL.

18. AS FOR THE LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP, IT SEEMS TO ME OF

CARDINAL IMPORTANCE TO KEEP IN MIND THAT THE CHINESE -AS ALL OTHERS)
WILL RESPECT US FAR MORE FOR WHAT WE ARE THAN FOR WHAT WE
DO OR DO NOT DO.

19. IT IS JUST AS IMPORTANT TO KEEP CLEARLY IN OUR
VISION WHAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS, AND IS NOT.
IT IS IN ITS VIEW STILL THE MIDDLE KINGDOM, BUT IT IS MORE WILY
THAN STRONG. IT IS ALSO THE MOST UNIQUE, SHOCKINGLY AMBITIOUS
SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT ON THE PLANET. NO ONE KNOWS YET JUST
HOW WELL IT WILL WORK, BUT AT LEAST SUN YAT-SEN'S CHARACTERIZATION
OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE AS A PILE OF SAND (HOPELESSLY UNORGANIZED)
HAS GIVEN WAY TO THE MOST METICULOUSLY CONTROLLED LARGE
SOCIETY ON EARTH. IT IS NOT A POLICE STATE IN THE USUAL
SENSE, BUT THE INDIVIDUAL IS NOETHELESS CIRCUMSRIBED IN HIS
FREEDOM TO AN EXTENT NOT FOUND IN ANY OTHER IMPORTANT
COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION. THE RESTRAINTS RESULT FROM
A MELANGE OF PEER-GROUP PRESSURE, OF INCESSANT DRUMMING OF
CATECHISMS ANOF GENUINE DEDICATION; BUT EVERYONE RECOGNIZES THAT
WHERE THESE MIGHT FAIL, THE AUTHORITIES WILL ACT PROMPTLY AND
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CRISPLY. CENTRAL AUTHORITY, WITH ALL ITS PULLING AND HAULING,
IS A COMBINATION OF IMPRESSIVE FRATERNITY AND DETERMINED
TYRANNY (THE LATTER EXCUSED, AS USUAL, BY A SENSE OF RECTITUDE
AND MISSION WHICH IS PROBABLY FULLY BELIEVED). IN ADDITION TO A FEW
SPECTACULARS RANGING FROM MEDICINE TO MISSILES, THE
REGIME HAS WROUGHT A COUPLE OF MODERN-DAY MUNDANE MIRACLES:
ADEQUATE FOOD AND CLOTHING FOR PERHAPS NINE HUNDRED MILLION
PERSONS. THERE IS A SORT OF AUSTERE COUNTRY-WIDE BOARDING-
SCHOOL FRATERNITY-IN-ADVERSITY-AND-EQUALITY, WHERE ALL DRESS,
EAT, WORK AND RECEIVE REWARDS WITH AN EQUIVALENCE UNEQUALED
ANYWHERE ELSE. BUT THE HUMAN SPIRIT HAS LITTLE OR NO ROOM
TO RUN AND JUMP. A GENERALLY GREY, MEASURED CONTENTMENT IS
WIDESPREAD, BUT THERE IS LITTLE JOIE DE VIVRE AND LESS SENSE
OF HUMOR. ART IS TOTALLY SUBSERVIENT, HENCE THERE IS NO
ART, ONLY CRAFTSMANSHIP. THE INTELLECT HAS VIRTUALLY NO FREEDOM;
THERE IS NOT EVEN A DETECTABLE INTELLECTUAL UNDERGROUND. TRUTH, NOT
INFREQUENTLY, IS SIMPLY WHAT THE AUTHORITIES SAY IT IS, EVEN WHEN
PATENTLY ABSURD.
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EXDIS

20. MOST PERTINENT OF ALL, CONTEMPORARY CHINA IS CLEARLY BENT UPON UNDERMINING AT THE VERY FIRST OPPORTUNITY OUR SOCIETY AND MANY OF THE VALUES TO WHICH WE ACCORD HIGHEST PRIORITY. SO LONG AS WE RECOGNIZE BEYOND THE SHADOW OF A DOUBT THAT OUR RAPPROCHEMENT, TOO, IS ONE OF COLD CONVENIENCE, IT IS VALID AND RIGHT. SOME DAY WE MAY BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE CHINESE APPRECIABLY. THAT ALONE IS PROBABLY WORTH OUR PRESENT EFFORTS, AND THERE ARE MORE IMMEDIATE, PRAGMATIC JUSTIFICATIONS. BUT THE MOMENT WE ROMANTICIZE OUR LIAISON TODAY, WE DREAM SELF-DESTRUCTIVELY.

21. I DO NOT HAVE ALL THE PIECES TO THE MOSAIC OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. IT MAY BE THAT THE STULTIFYING AND OFTEN FRUSTRATING CLIMATE IN PEKING, WHICH IS NOT SO DISCERNIBLE AT FIRST, EVENTUALLY TENDS TO PRODUCE A TINGE OF CYNICISM WHICH IS UNJUSTIFIABLE AND PROVINCIAL. HOWEVER, DUPLICITY, SO LONG AS IT IS ARTFUL, HAS BEEN A VIRTUE IN CHINA FOR A VERY LONG TIME. PERHAPS THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP LACKS THIS "VIRTUE", BUT ITS HISTORY IS NOT COMFORTING ON THIS SCORE. TENG HSIAO-P'ING COULD BE AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF CHINESE INTENTIONS BUT ONLY, OF COURSE, IF WE ACCURATELY READ HIM. HE ARRIVED ON THE SCENE WITH THE CURRENT POLICY ZAG. IF HE IS SYMPATHETIC TO CHOU EN-LAI'S POLITICS AND CAME ON THE SCENE PARTLY TO RELIEVE A WEARY PREMIER, THAT IS ONE THING. BUT IF PART OF HIS UTILITY IS TO AFFORD A FRESH VEHICLE FOR FURTHERING EMPHASIS ON THE RECENTLY NEGLECTED SIDE OF THE CHAIRMAN'S SOMETIMES DELPHIC POLICIES, THAT IS QUITE ANOTHER.

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22. WE CAN TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT CHOU IS THE VICTIM OF CARPING THAT THE AMERICANS ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH ABOUT IMPLEMENTING THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. BUT IF FIND IT VERY HARD TO BELIEVE THAT HIS POSITION IS REALLY IN ANY DANGER AS A

RESULT. I DO NOT FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT HE WOULD READILY COOPERATE WITH, OR INSTIGATE, A CAMPAIGN TO MAKE US BELIEVE THAT HE IS IN DANGER. I AM OF THE SCHOOL WHICH BELIEVES THAT WITH ALL THE HUFFING AND PUFFING AMONG THE LEADERSHIP THEY USUALLY, OBVIOUSLY NOT ALWAYS, END UP WORKING TOGETHER VERY WELL, IN WAYS NOT LACKING IN BYZANTINE EMBELLISHMENT.

23. USLO HOPES TO FOLLOW THIS WITH A PAPER ON HANDLING THE MINOR GRIEVANCES.

24. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS IF AND AS DESIRED.
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